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2 **Disability Sport and Activist Identities: A Qualitative Study of Narratives of**

3 **Activism Among Elite Athletes' with Impairment**

4

**Abstract**

**Objectives:** Sport and exercise psychology has recently expanded into how it can be utilized to enable social missions like activism. No research, however, has examined activist identities among disabled, elite athletes. This article is the first to engage with this new and complex issue by examining narratives of activism amongst elite athletes with impairment and their adoption/rejection of various activist identities. **Methods:** Thirty-six people were recruited using maximum variation and criterion-based purposive sampling strategies. Data was collected using interviews and fieldwork observations (e.g., observation and social media material). The large data set was rigorously analyzed using a narrative thematic analysis. **Results:** All participants adopted an athletic identity and an athletic activist identity. A small group also adopted a political activist identity that was concerned with challenging disablism. The athletes' reasons for adopting or eschewing activist identities are identified and connections made to organizational stressors, interpellation, feeling, emotional regulation, narrative, habitus, health and wellbeing. Also revealed is the impact that sporting retirement had on activist identity construction. **Conclusions:** The article makes a novel research contribution by revealing two different activist identities within the context of disability sport and what social functions each identity might serve. It also significantly develops knowledge by revealing various organizational stressors experienced by disabled athletes, the importance of embodied feelings and emotional regulation in activist identity construction, the damage that social oppression can have on wellbeing following sporting retirement, and the positive possibilities retiring may have for developing different identities. Practical suggestions are as well offered.

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**Keywords:** disability, para-sport, activist identity, narrative, affect, retirement

29     **Disability Sport and Activist Identities: A Qualitative Study of Narratives of**  
 30                     **Activism Among Elite Athletes' with Impairment**

31 Within the field of sport and exercise psychology, research on disability has grown in  
 32 recent years. As part of this growth, attention has turned to elite athletes with impairment.  
 33 For example, research has examined experiences of retirement (Wheeler, Malone,  
 34 VanVlack, Nelson, & Steadward, 1996), mental skills use (Martin & Malone, 2013),  
 35 posttraumatic growth (Day, 2013), and autonomy supportive coaching (Cheon, Reeve,  
 36 Lee & Lee, 2015) among elite, disabled athletes. Research also exists on athletic identity,  
 37 that is, the degree to which a disabled individual identifies with the athlete role (Brewer,  
 38 Van Raalte & Linder, 1993). Along with work on the athletic role in recreational sport  
 39 (e.g., Perrier, Smith, Strachan & Latimer-Cheung, 2012; Tasiemski & Brewer, 2011),  
 40 research has examined the relationship between athletic identity and self-esteem among  
 41 elite, disabled athletes (Vliet, Van Biesen & Vanlandewijck, 2008), the effect of sports  
 42 participation on athletic identity and influence on quality of life (Groff, Lundberg &  
 43 Zabriskie, 2009) and the role of para-sport in the construction of disabled and athletic  
 44 identities (Peers, 2012).

45     Whilst disability specific research within sport and exercise psychology is a  
 46 growing field, significant gaps in knowledge remain (Smith, Martin & Perrier, 2016). One  
 47 gap pertains to activist orientations or *activist identities* among elite athletes with  
 48 impairment. Activist identity is broadly defined as an individual's developed, relatively  
 49 stable, yet changeable orientation to engage in social missions (Corning & Myers, 2002).  
 50 It involves collective, social-political, problem-solving behaviors that range from low-  
 51 risk, passive, and institutionalized acts to high-risk, active, and unconventional behaviors  
 52 that convey what is seen is needed to make a better society (Corning & Myers, 2002).

53 Thus, individuals with an activist identity are often advocates in the sense that they seek  
54 change for the better within society (Bundon & Hurd Clarke, 2015; Stake & Rosu, 2012).

55       Examining activist identities among disabled, elite athletes' is of significance for  
56 several reasons. As Schinke et al., (2016) have noted, "there is growing interest in how  
57 sport psychology practices and sport contexts can be crafted to enable social missions" (p.  
58 4) and more generally how the field might be utilized to benefit human activity. For  
59 example, in position statements and ethical principles, organisations like the *International*  
60 *Society of Sport Psychology* (ISSP) and the *Applied Association of Sport Psychology*  
61 (AASP) have promoted social missions and called on sport and exercise psychologists to  
62 actively contribute to human welfare by condoning discriminatory practices, promoting  
63 diversity, and enabling social justice (Schinke et al., 2016). Despite this, it has been  
64 argued that too few researchers in sport and exercise psychological research explicitly  
65 focus on social missions, such as promoting diversity, tackling oppression, and examining  
66 activism (Fisher & Roper, 2015; Krane, 2014; Smith & Perrier, 2014). Examining activist  
67 identities among sports people is also of significance as athletes themselves might make a  
68 valuable contribution to promoting social missions. This is because athletes are potentially  
69 well positioned to vividly highlight injustice both within and outside sport. For example,  
70 over the years various athletes have engaged in activism by shining a spotlight on issues  
71 such as racism, LGBT rights (Krane, 2014), and, in relation to disability, inaccessible  
72 sporting programs for disabled people (Bundon & Hurd Clarke, 2015).

73       A focus on activist identities is therefore important. It contributes to how the field  
74 of sport and psychology might be utilized to benefit human activity and social life.  
75 Despite this, there is a lack of empirical work within the field on activist identities in  
76 relation to disabled, elite athletes. Designed to address the aforementioned gaps in  
77 knowledge, the purpose of this paper is to examine narratives of activism among elite

78athletes' with impairment and their adoption and/or rejection of possible activist  
 79identities. Our central research questions were: 1) What types of activist identities, if any,  
 80are constructed and performed by elite athletes' with a disability and for what do they  
 81advocate? 2) Why, or why not, is an activist identity pertinent to them? 3) How and when  
 82do they engage in activism? 4) What social functions might their discourses serve in terms  
 83of disability, social missions and wellbeing?

84       Theoretically, the research is informed by narrative inquiry. Joining with  
 85approaches like symbolic interactionism, ethnomethodology, and discursive psychology,  
 86and as also shown in discourse orientated work within sport and exercise psychology  
 87(e.g., Cosh, LeCouteur, Crabb & Kettler, 2013; McGannon & Spence, 2012), narrative  
 88inquiry considers language to be constructive. That is to say, stories constitute our  
 89psychological realities, including identity (McGannon & Smith, 2015). For narrative  
 90scholars, identity is not something an individual 'has' inside them and which emerges  
 91from their mind. Rather identities are constructed within social relations primarily through  
 92talk (Nelson, 2001; Frank, 2010). As part of this relational and discursive constructive  
 93process, identity is performed, which means that people enact identities through their talk  
 94(Cosh et al., 2013; McGannon & Spence, 2012). In addition to our identities being  
 95constructed and performed, research has shown that language is performative (Cosh et al.,  
 962012; Smith, 2013; Wiggins & Potter, 2008). In other words, and echoing classic  
 97formulations of philosophical speech-act theory, stories, accounts, and others forms of  
 98discourse *do* things; our talk is action-orientated. Language-in-use then is neither passive  
 99nor a neutral medium of representing thoughts, attitudes, emotions, or behavior. Rather  
 100storied language acts in, for, and on us, affecting our thoughts, attitudes, emotions, and  
 101behavior (Frank, 2010). Thus, as Atkinson (2015) argued, researchers must always "have  
 102due regard for the fact that language accomplishes social actions and realities" (p. 93). Or,

103as Wiggins and Potter (2008) put it, “to separate talk and action as psychologists  
104commonly do (for example in distinctions such as attitudes vs. behavior) is to set up a  
105false dichotomy, and to overlook the ways in which talk achieves things in itself” (p. 77).

## 106 **Methodology and Methods**

107 The research design was rigorously developed and implemented in the following  
108manner.

### 109 **Methodology and Sampling**

110 The research was underpinned by ontological relativism (i.e., reality is multiple,  
111created, and mind-dependent) and epistemological constructionism (i.e., knowledge is  
112constructed and subjective). After gaining university ethical approval for the study,  
113participants were recruited through maximum variation and criterion-based purposive  
114sampling strategies (Smith & Sparkes, 2014). The combination of two types of purposive  
115sampling was chosen because the former ensures the representation of a variety of  
116Paralympic sports and athletes’ experiences. The latter sampling strategy ensured that  
117participants were recruited who shared particular inclusion criteria attributes. The criteria  
118were people a) aged 18 years or over b) with impairment and c) who were an actively  
119competitive elite athlete. An elite athlete was defined as someone who had participated in  
120elite talent programs, were in receipt of an Athlete Performance Award from UK Sport  
121during their para-sport careers, competed at high level events like the World  
122Championships or Paralympics, and/or have experienced some sustained success at the  
123highest level (Swann, Moran & Piggott, 2015).

124 To recruit a sample, calls for participants were placed on social media and  
125websites, and letters were sent to disability sport networks inviting people who met the  
126sampling criteria to take part in the study. The study was described as research that sought  
127to understand people’s experiences of being a disabled athlete. Participants were not then

128informed about the specific topic of this research. The reason for this was based on the  
129need to recruit a diverse sample whilst avoiding recruiting a group of people who might  
130first consider the research an opportunity to promote disability sport or their personal  
131political views. Recruitment of participants continued until data saturation was achieved.  
132Recognizing the complexities of data saturation (e.g. there is always the potential for ‘the  
133new to emerge’) (O’Reilly & Parker, 2013), this kind of saturation best refers to an  
134iterative process that involves collecting and transcribing initial data, immediately  
135assessing it, and then continuing to collect and assess data until anything ‘new’ found  
136adds nothing necessarily to the overall story and patterns. The result was a recruited  
137sample of 36 people (20 males and 16 females aged between 23 and 40 years) who had  
138been competing in their sport for an average of 8 years. The participants reported a range  
139of impairments (e.g., amputation, cerebral palsy, spinal cord injury, visual impairment)  
140and represented a diversity of sports (e.g., athletics, canoe, cycling, swimming, triathlon,  
141wheelchair basketball). Nine individuals described their impairments as congenital or  
142acquired during childhood and 27 acquired their impairments in adulthood. The sample  
143was also diverse in terms of income and employment status.

#### 144Data Collection

145 Data was collected using qualitative methods synchronously, resulting in a large  
146and qualitatively rich data set. All participants were involved in a semi-structured life  
147story interview. Each interview was recorded and lasted on average 2 hours. In each  
148interview, the interviewer invited each participant to tell stories about their own life and  
149how it had been lived over time. An interview guide was also used to help facilitate  
150discussion. Questions included in the guide were, “Can you tell me about your sporting  
151experiences?”, “Can you describe who you are?”, “What does activism mean to you” and  
152“Can you describe any experiences you’ve had of engaging in activism”. Clarification,

153elaboration, and detail orientated probes, that is, curiosity-driven follow-up questions  
154were used throughout to elicit richer data (Sparkes & Smith, 2014). One year after the  
155first interview, people in the sample who had retired from competitive sport were  
156interviewed again. The rationale for a second interview with this group was based on the  
157view that retirement from elite sport might be a major epiphany that engenders reflection  
158and possible change in identity and wellbeing. Eight participants retired during the project  
159and were interviewed on average for 1.5 hours. All data were transcribed verbatim and  
160participants given pseudonyms.

161         Concurrently with the interviews, 70 hours of observational data was collected in  
162various contexts. For example, gym training (e.g., weights sessions or aerobic training in  
163the gym), training camps in which players met, ate together, practiced skills, discussed  
164tactics, played sport and so on, team meetings, interactions in cafés with team mates and  
165friends, and time spent in a family home were observed. Data were recorded either in situ  
166or later that day using fieldnotes. The method of observation was chosen because it allows  
167the researcher insight into the mundane, the typical, and occasionally extraordinary  
168features of everyday life that a participant might not feel worth commenting on in an  
169interview (Thorpe & Olive, 2016). Moreover, combining observational data with  
170interview data enables researchers to understand not just what a participant says they do,  
171but also what they do in everyday life (Atkinson, 2015). In addition to these ‘real world’  
172observations, the authors were also attentive to the virtual and digital sites where athletes  
173with disabilities show and perform identities (Bundon, 2016). Throughout the project,  
174social media accounts (e.g. Twitter) and blogs produced by athletes were also observed  
175and provided a supplementary source of material.

## 176Data Analysis and Validity

177         Transcripts, fieldnotes and collected digital media were subjected to an inductive



178thematic narrative analysis as described by Riessman (2008) and Smith (2016). Initially,  
179the authors engaged in indwelling, which involves immersing oneself in the data, thinking  
180with stories, and generating initial ideas. Next, narrative themes - a pattern that runs  
181through a story - were identified by theme-ing the data, which means systematically  
182coding stories for manifest and latent meaning. Themes were then reviewed against the  
183entire data set before these were refined and combined into larger themes that captured  
184complex patterns that run through stories. This process led to the emergence of 4 main  
185narrative themes, and the initial naming of these.

186       The study was guided by a relativist approach to conceptualizing validity in  
187qualitative research (Burke, 2016; Sparkes & Smith, 2009, 2014). This approach does not  
188mean that ‘anything goes’. Rather, it means that criteria for judging the quality of  
189qualitative research are drawn from an ongoing list of characterizing traits as opposed to  
190being applied in a universal manner to all qualitative research. The criteria for enhancing  
191the quality of the work here included the following: the worthiness of the topic; the  
192significant contribution of the work; rich rigor (e.g., developing a sample appropriate for  
193the purpose of the study and generating data that could provide for meaningful and  
194significant claims); and the coherence of the research, which refers to how well the study  
195coheres in terms of the purpose, methods, and results. Participant reflections on our  
196analytical interpretations were also utilized, not in an effort to achieve theory-free  
197knowledge, but rather to open up dialogue about the fairness, appropriateness and  
198believability of the results shared. A reflexive diary was kept in order to critically reflect  
199on, for example, prior assumptions held about disability, sport, and activism, and ongoing  
200judgments about the data and interpretations of these. An audit trail in which two  
201colleagues, acting as ‘critical friends’ (Smith & Sparkes, 2012), independently scrutinized  
202data collection was additionally used. Critical friends were also used to provide a

theoretical sounding board to encourage reflection upon, and exploration of, alternative explanations and interpretations as these emerged in relation to the data (Burke, 2016; Smith & Sparkes, 2012).

## Results

The results are presented as follows. The theme of a sporting activist identity that all participants adopted is first highlighted. A second activist identity concerned with challenging social oppression outside sport is then revealed. Emphasized next are the barriers to constructing and performing political activist identities. Thereafter retirement and the development of a new identity about political activism are attended to. The article concludes by addressing the contribution of the research, suggesting what each identity might do, and offering practical implications.

### Sporting Activist Identities

All participants identified strongly with the athlete identity. Each also constructed and performed what we termed a sporting activist identity. Defined, this is a type of identity that advocates for change *inside* sport for the purpose of transforming policy, practices, and organizations that are believed to restrict ones own *individual* or *team* sporting success. In addition to advocating for a consistent, fair, correct, and clearly communicated classification policy system (the system by which athletes with disabilities are ‘classified’ into different competitive categories based on their type of impairment and/or functional abilities), what people with a sporting type of activist identity mainly advocated for was a reduction of perceived inequalities between what able-bodied athletes received and what disabled athletes received. The perceived inequalities, often emerging from within organizations or the material environment, included restricted disabled parking and limited accessible accommodation close to training locations, a lack of disability specific sport equipment, minimal and precarious financial support to train and

228 compete, and limited access to high quality coaches and sport science services  
229 (particularly those with disability-specific awareness and knowledge). Moreover, such  
230 perceived inequalities emerging from within the material environment and organizations  
231 were deemed a stressor by the participants that could negatively impact upon their  
232 preparation for major competitions, sporting success, emotions, and health and wellbeing.  
233 As one female athlete said in response to being asked 'What does activism mean to you':

234       Activism for me is all about getting equality in sport. As an athlete my goal  
235       ultimately is to win, and to be the best I can. But sometimes it feels as though I  
236       can't do this. That's not down to me. It's the fault of so many things external to  
237       me, like the failure of the [name of] organization to come up with good training  
238       facilities, parking, the lack of good coaches that understand my needs and what  
239       being a Paralympian is all about. But I don't accept the inequalities between what  
240       we have and what Olympic, able-bodied have. You see it's a huge stress that  
241       impacts on my training, what I could really do in sport, and effects even my health  
242       and moods...Inequalities are wrong and really stressful, but I don't take it lying  
243       down. I won't tolerate now how some people in sport treat us. I know a lot of  
244       other para-athletes think like this too, that we get a raw deal and more needs to be  
245       done to shrink the gaps between us and Olympic athletes. That's a big mission, but  
246       I believe in it. (Helen)

247       How athletes responded to perceived inequalities in sport, and the stress that  
248 inequality could engender, was by sometimes engaging in acts of activism that they  
249 themselves perceived to be high-risk. This included demanding change at team meetings  
250 and via social media in confrontational ways. What was largely perceived to be at stake  
251 for the participants by engaging in such risky acts of activism was the withdrawal of  
252 emotional (e.g. trust), tangible (e.g. financial assistance), and informational (e.g. advice)

253social support from coaches or team management. What the participants were also risking  
254was a rise in stress that came with the fear of having social support withdrawn.  
255Notwithstanding such risks and stressors, how athletes mostly performed activist  
256identities was by engaging in occasional, low-risk, gentle, and institutionalized activist  
257acts. For example, the participants spoke with other athletes as well as sport staff  
258(coaches, team managers, and performance lifestyle coordinators), about perceived  
259inequalities and about how reducing these gaps in equality would improve their individual  
260or team performance.

261 I: You spoke about trying to make changes in sport. Can you tell me how you've  
262 gone about this?

263 Male participant: Not in an aggressive manner. I'd be out of the team I reckon if I  
264 did. You see, being a para-athlete comes with many challenges. Many though are  
265 not of our own making. For me, and others I know, there is great pressure to  
266 perform and get medals, but I'm having to battle to get things in place to do this.  
267 Para-athletes don't get the same environment as able-bodied athletes and  
268 sometimes the disparities between us feel so wrong because we could do so much  
269 better if we had the same as them. I know I could...I'm not saying I can change  
270 the world of para-sport here. I'm not naïve. But I can do my little bit. I've spoken  
271 up at training camps about how bad our food is, I've pushed for competitions that  
272 treat us as good as able-bodied athletes, and said we need the same access to sport  
273 science support...Still, when you do speak up there are risks, like thinking, if I tell  
274 the coach to stop patronizing me, will he just walk away or not give his all. So  
275 mostly I'm like, yes this is wrong, things need improving, but I don't go  
276 overboard. There's too much to lose, and it's emotionally quite draining I reckon  
277 too. So I'm more like, I go about things in a gentler, subtle manner, wanting to

278 make change but not upset the apple cart. (Harry)

279 Whilst all the participants constructed and performed a sporting activist identity by  
280 advocating for change inside sport, there were important differences amongst them in  
281 terms of where they discursively positioned ‘athlete’ in their identity hierarchy. Whilst  
282 Paralympians are, *de facto*, individuals with a disability else they would be ineligible to  
283 compete at the Paralympic Games, 29 of the participants rejected the term disability to  
284 describe themselves, preferring instead to define themselves as simply an athlete. The  
285 participants described themselves using this ‘athlete only identity discourse’ partly as a  
286 way to legitimate their athletic status, competence, and talents as a sportsperson. For  
287 example, one participant in an interview said:

288 Female participant: I think of myself as an athlete, not as a woman, and certainly  
289 not as disabled.

290 I: Why is that?

291 Female participant: I am 100% an athlete, that’s who I am, totally. I train hard, I  
292 lift weights, I cover hundreds of miles, go out in all weathers...I am an athlete, and  
293 want to be seen as one, not disabled, but an athlete outright, a winner. I don’t even  
294 think of myself as disabled. I’m a Paralympian and for me that is all about being  
295 an athlete, not disability. (Emma)

296 Observational data further highlighted the dominance of an ‘athlete only identity  
297 discourse’ within the sample.

298 During team meetings, when speaking with the media, on his twitter account, and  
299 in conversations with the general public it has become apparent that James views  
300 himself as just an athlete. Sometimes he was often at pains to stress this. On  
301 several occasions, like observed today when he responded on twitter to a tweet, he  
302 stressed that, to quote, he ‘did not see himself as disabled’ and was ‘an athlete just

303 like any other elite athlete who competes at elite level.’ (James - observational  
304 field notes)

305 In contrast to the majority of participants who used athlete only identity language,  
3067 people in the study, who came from a range of sports and had different impairments that  
307were either congenital or acquired, described themselves as a ‘disabled athlete’.

308Identifying as a disabled person first and then an athlete second did not though mean that  
309the participant’s identification with an athletic identity was weak or diminished. Rather,  
310they identified strongly with the athlete role but preferred to position disability first within  
311their identity hierarchy to emphasize an affirmative identity. As described by Swain and  
312French (2000), an affirmative identity refers to a positive identity as a person who is  
313proud to be disabled, finds benefits in living life with a disability, and wishes to affirm a  
314connection with other people who have an impairment. Participants also adopted the  
315discourse of a ‘disabled athlete’ to as a way to counter negative discourses of disability,  
316including those that depict disabled people simply as vulnerable, dependent, pitiful, tragic  
317victims, or not ‘normal’.

318 I: How would you describe yourself?

319 Male participant: I’m disabled, and that defines me. I’d describe myself as a  
320 disabled athlete, in that order. I’m an athlete, for sure. But I’m more than an  
321 athlete. I’m first and foremost a disabled person...Disability isn’t just about me,  
322 my body, or Paralympic sport, or winning a medal. It’s political because when  
323 you’re disabled society often treats you like a second-class citizen, as if being  
324 disabled is a horrible, abnormal thing, and we should be grateful for help or pity.  
325 That’s wrong. It needs challenging, and if I can use my status as an athlete to do  
326 this, to bring disability rights to people’s attention, then that’s as good as any gold  
327 medal...I’m proud to be disabled. I’m disabled and then an athlete, a disabled

328 athlete. Unfortunately I don't see too many of us about in sport like this. (Mark)

329 **Political Activist Identity**

330 The majority of the participants confined activist behaviors to advocating for  
331 change inside sport. However, the 7 participants who described themselves as a 'disabled  
332 athlete' did engage in activism both inside and outside sport. In so doing, they constructed  
333 and performed another identity, what we termed a political activist identity. Defined, a  
334 political activist identity refers to a type of identity that advocates for change *outside* sport  
335 for the purpose of resisting and transforming discourses, attitudes, non-verbal acts,  
336 policies, and environmental structures that socially oppress people in their everyday lives.  
337 Accordingly, this type of activist identity is different to an athletic activist identity in that  
338 activist acts are conducted outside of the sporting context. Moreover, what these actions  
339 were directed at challenging was disablism, not for reasons to do with sporting  
340 performance, but rather to collectively improve the everyday lives of disabled people.  
341 Disablism refers to the social oppression disabled people encounter (Goodley, 2016). It  
342 involves the social imposition of restrictions of activity on people with impairments and  
343 the socially engendered undermining of their physical health and psychological or  
344 subjective wellbeing (Thomas, 2014). As one female participant said:

345 Being a disabled athlete is a privilege in many ways. When you really look outside  
346 sport and the comfortable life it gives you, what you see is unfortunately a lot of  
347 misery and difficulties for disabled people. None of it our fault, very little anyway.  
348 The problems largely fall at the door of society, for not thinking we can excel at  
349 work, for not adapting buildings, people staring at disabled people when they shop  
350 in a supermarket, a lack of accessible transport, bad stadiums, welfare cuts, cruel  
351 jokes, and even physical violence. The list goes on. When you step outside of  
352 sport you hear all about the damage being done to disabled people and get to

353 experience it first hand. It's wrong. It's oppressive. People can't enjoy gyms, get a  
354 job, struggle to watch their football team, or even afford to buy healthy food or  
355 live in a house that meets their needs. People are suffering, that's the reality of it.  
356 And if I can use my identity as an athlete to help change things, I will and do. I'm  
357 proud of being an athlete, and have a very strong identity as a political disabled  
358 athlete too. This didn't happen overnight though. It was a while before I felt the  
359 calling. (Rachel)

360 There were various reasons why the 7 participants constructed and performed a  
361 political activist identity. Five participants began the process of developing this kind of  
362 identity prior to being an elite athlete and 2 when competing at athletes, partly as a result  
363 being interpellated to activism. Interpellation is the social constitutive process where  
364 individuals are "hailed"—called—to acknowledge and respond to ideologies to be certain  
365 individuals' as subjects (Frank, 2010). The people in this study were interpellated to take  
366 up an activist political identity by at least two embodied, socialized, and relational forces:  
367 one of affect and feeling and one of narrative. As part of the affective turn, it has been  
368 argued that we are *feeling bodies* and act on how we *feel* (Burkitt, 2014; Cromby, 2015;  
369 Damasio, 1994). That is, we feel various embodied intensities, sensations, directions,  
370 desires, and valences corporeally and these feelings, provided for us by our bodies, can  
371 impel us to certain identities that have been called out. For example, participants  
372 explained that they took up political activist identities partly because of their 'gut  
373 feelings', what Damasio (1994) theorized as affective somatic markers for informing  
374 identity identification and guiding behavior. Likewise, why the interpellation to take up an  
375 activist political identity had force was because the participant's *felt* they must respond to  
376 a call made their own body.

377 I: You've said a lot that you're, to use your words, 'a disabled activist who is also



378 very much an athlete'. Are there any reasons why you were drawn to activism?

379 Male participant: There are a few. This might sound strange, but it was a feeling,

380 deep inside me that told me it was wrong to ignore the injustices I heard about and

381 saw were happening when I stepped outside of sport...The only way I can explain

382 my initial decision to be an activist was that it felt wrong knowing what happens

383 to disabled people and I knew, in my body by how I suddenly felt, that I should do

384 something. I had to. If I ignored that feeling, what person would I be? (Matthew)

385 Of course, people can refuse interpellation and avoid taking on board a political

386 activist identity they have been called by their corporeal feelings to adopt. But, this was

387 not the case for the 7 people. Reasons for this relate to an embodied narrative

388 enculturation and socialization process that involved first being *inducted* to a story of

389 oppression that soon acted on them as a *subjectifier* by arousing *imagination*, offering a

390 new *narrative map* and *connecting* people, and then over time, the stories that acted on

391 and for them formed a *narrative habitus* around a political activist identity. Specifically,

392 whilst "language interpellates or 'calls out' feeling, organizing experience in accord with

393 regimes of discourse" (Cromby, 2015, p. 101), people also require access to certain

394 discourses in order to help inform them, in the sense of providing information, about

395 political activist identities. In other words, in order to know about activist identities they

396 needed to be introduced to stories of activism, what might be termed *narrative induction*.

397 A key way in which they were inducted to discourses about activism was by hearing

398 stories from other disabled people outside of sport about oppression and the damage

399 disablism can do. Being introduced to these stories not only helped organize and make

400 sense of their embodied feelings. The stories moreover helped perform the work of

401 identity *subjectification*, that is, "telling people who they ought to be, who they might like

402 to be and who they can be" (Frank, 2006, p. 430).

403        Whilst a story as a subjectifier does not determine people as individuals can reject  
404 stories as not for them, the participants did get caught up in political stories, and these left  
405 their mark. A reason for this lies in the capacities that, according to Frank (2010), equip  
406 narratives to have the effects they have. For the participants, stories aroused their  
407 *imagination* by making the unseen not only visible but also emotionally compelling.  
408 Stories as subjectifiers further had the capacity to provide what Pollner and Stein (1996)  
409 termed a *narrative map*. Narrative maps are guides that experienced people offer to  
410 newcomers who are at a gateway to an unfamiliar world. As a map, the stories people  
411 share provide orientation, information and advice about how to navigate a new social  
412 world and the negotiation of new identities in unfamiliar situations (Pollner & Stein,  
413 1996). Moreover for the participants, stories had the capacity to *connect* them with other  
414 people who performed activist identities. In so doing, the stories brought multiple actors  
415 together to produce a collective story of activism and a network of activists, thereby  
416 enhancing the force of narratives to call and capture people's imagination (Frank, 2010).  
417 As one female athlete put it:

418        Sport is very insular. But for me I felt anger when I heard what is happening to  
419 disabled people who don't have the luxury of being in sport. There are problems in  
420 sport, don't get me wrong, and which I'm happy to protest about. But the big issue  
421 is what is going on out there. When I was introduced to other disabled people, it  
422 was like a wake-up call. I knew in my body something was wrong, and as well  
423 people were telling me so many stories about the horrors they were going through  
424 and how together we could do something. They opened my eyes to a new world  
425 and I wanted to be part of their cause, and fight for the rights of disabled  
426 people....When I heard all these stories about how disabled people are badly  
427 treated in society it got me angry, very emotional, and I couldn't help but imagine

428 that could be me. Now I feel as though this political side is part of me, that it's  
429 important to who I am, it's engrained in me. I suppose you might say that it's in  
430 my veins now. I don't hesitate to tell someone now if they are being prejudiced  
431 against disabled people, write an email to MP [Member of Parliament], or pipe up  
432 when I hear people say disabled people are a drain on society. It's natural now to  
433 act like this. (Janice)

434 As suggested above, over time stories of oppression and activism that the  
435 participants first heard, provided information, aroused imagination, and connected them  
436 with other people who engaged in activism, turned into an embodied companion to tacitly  
437 guide and predispose actions by becoming part of their *narrative habitus*. This type of  
438 habitus (Frank, 2010) refers to the embedding of stories in bodies to hear certain stories,  
439 immediately and intuitively, as belonging to one's body and self. As Frank (2010) put it,  
440 although narrative habitus is never determinism, it is "a disposition to hear some stories as  
441 those one ought to listen to, ought to repeat on appropriate occasions, and ought to be  
442 guided by" (p. 53). It describes the embodied sense of attraction, indifference, or repulsion  
443 that people feel in response to stories which leads them to define some story as for us or  
444 not for us. Narrative habitus, therefore, "is the unchosen force in any choice to be  
445 interpellated by a story, and the complementary rejection of the interpellation that other  
446 stories would effect if a person were caught up in them" (p. 53). Another example of the  
447 participant's narrative habitus that predisposed them to be called to stories of activism can  
448 be seen in the following comments from a male participant (Ken): "I'm political. I'm not  
449 sure I'd be allowed to have it any other way, well, that's how it feels. And of course, all  
450 this dictates what I do. It's natural for me now to challenge discrimination and give my  
451 voice to campaigns to make life better for disabled people."

452 How and when the participants performed a political activist identity in

453predisposed ways was diverse. For example, using their platform in sport as a vehicle to  
454help counter disablism in society, they purposefully shared stories about the damage done  
455to disabled people in society and what might be done to change this with other athletes  
456who they perceived to be widely unaware of how widespread oppression was. Notably  
457this process, they claimed, helped change some athletes' views and narratively inducted  
458them into a political activist identity. Participants would also challenge people they  
459encountered in public places, like in the street, shop, or gym, for suggesting that all  
460disabled people are vulnerable, pitiful, and/or welfare 'scroungers'. Other ways how  
461participants sought to resist disablism and improve disabled peoples' lives was by writing  
462to their local Member of Parliament, signing petitions, producing blogs or tweets,  
463engaging in organized protest rallies, and confronting senior people in organizations to  
464demand oppressive policies and structures, like inaccessible environments, were changed.

465       Observing Edward train in the gym today. Whilst I was helping put away some  
466       weights, I watched him chat with another male gym member. "Yes, I'm training  
467       for the Paralympics. I'm a disabled athlete," he responded to a question asking if  
468       he was a Paralympian. Following a short conversation about how great sport was  
469       and that he'd won a medal at the last Paralympics, he said to the person, "One  
470       thing you should know is that I had to fight hard to get access to this weights area.  
471       People didn't want me here. Bad for business I was told. But I wouldn't let it go. I  
472       fought it and here I am. But compared to most disabled people, I have it easy. I've  
473       left a petition about welfare cuts at the front desk. If you've the time please read it,  
474       and hopefully you'll support us." An hour later I watched as the young man read  
475       and signed the petition...Edward later sent a tweet about the cuts and why he  
476       believed these were dangerous for disabled people. (Edward - observational field  
477       notes)

478     **Barriers and risks to constructing and performing political activist identities**

479         There were two main reasons as to why the majority of participants did not  
 480construct political activist identities. Although disabled people still regularly face  
 481disablism in society (Goodley, 2016), most people in the study assumed that disabled  
 482people were now largely treated fairly, equally, and respectfully in society. Thus, it was  
 483reasoned that engaging in activism outside sport was largely needless. A second reason  
 484for the absence of a political activist identity was that it was presumed that, even if  
 485activism was truly needed, a political activist identity was incompatible with an athletic  
 486identity. For example, people thought their sport organizations and sponsors would be  
 487offended if they engaged in social justice issues outside of sport. As a result, they feared  
 488the withdrawal of funding, endorsements, or sponsorship that was necessary for  
 489maintaining a strong athletic role. In addition, it was presumed that engaging in activism  
 490would engender negative emotions that would negatively impact on their athletic identity  
 491due to the need for repeated emotional self-regulation – “the use of automatic or  
 492deliberate strategies to initiate, maintain, modify or display one’s own emotions”  
 493(Tamminen & Crocker, 2013, p. 738). For instance, performing a political activist identity  
 494during social interactions was assumed to require the management of emotions by  
 495deliberately inhibiting outward displays of emotion. Such an expressive suppression  
 496response-focused strategy for regulating emotions would, in turn, require significant  
 497coping efforts and consume cognitive resources, resulting in negative training, recovery,  
 498and performance outcomes (Wagstaff, Hanton & Fletcher, 2013).

499         I: Why do you say you’ve no interest in disability politics?

500         Female participant: I don’t hear too many bad things happening to disabled  
 501         people. So I guess there isn’t much point in acting political. But even if there was,  
 502         I suspect it would be too emotionally draining to get involved. That and you’d

503        have to keep your emotions hidden. You can't bubble over in public. I couldn't  
504        afford any of that as an athlete...My focus and energy needs to be on training,  
505        going for a medal, which is about being an athlete, not wasting emotional energy  
506        on getting involved in political stuff and trying to keep my emotions in check. But  
507        as I say, I don't think disabled people have it bad now. (Hannah)

508        In contrast to the majority of participants who assumed acts of activism were a  
509 barrier or risk to the athlete role and associated peak performance, the small group of  
510 people who did construct and perform a political activist identity said they both strongly  
511 identified with an athletic identity and believed sporting achievement never suffered as  
512 result of their activism. This is not to say that engaging in activism was easy or  
513 straightforward initially for the 7 participants. When political views were expressed and  
514 oppression challenged they sometimes encountered anger, alienation, or hostility from  
515 sporting organizations, athletes, and the general public. This made it difficult to act  
516 effectively at first. Anger, alienation, or hostility could also engender negative emotions  
517 for the participant's, harming their wellbeing. That said, it was suggested that with  
518 experience they became competent at enacting political activist identities and, in turn,  
519 harm to wellbeing was very rare. One reason for this relates to their narrative habitus and  
520 use of certain emotional regulation strategies.

521        According to Frank (2010), "narrative habitus provides the *competence*" (p. 53) to  
522 use stories and perform identities. This is because with experience people develop a  
523 disposition to know, in the body and mostly tacitly, what acts fit which occasion, who  
524 wants to hear what activist story and when, and how others will react to a story that might  
525 be told to challenge oppression. Whilst never perfect or guaranteed, narrative habitus can  
526 thus enable knowing, as if one were on narrative automatic pilot, how to effectively  
527 perform political identities without serious negative impact on emotion during and after

528interactions. Important in the process was the development of strategies for both  
 529emotional self-regulation and interpersonal emotional regulation – the “verbal and  
 530nonverbal actions which influence others’ emotions” (Tamminen & Crocker, 2013, p.  
 531738) - that over time became part of their habitus. For example, constituted from life  
 532experiences over a period of time participants used reappraisal strategies, such as altering  
 533their emotion experience by changing thoughts, to manage any potential negative  
 534interactions and emotions. Other useful positive strategies for regulating emotions that  
 535formed part of their habitus for communicating activist points effectively were humor,  
 536smiling, cue words to calm people down, and prosocial actions, like taking into  
 537consideration the needs of others (Tamminen & Crocker, 2013). As one male said:

538       Challenging the problems, and the physical and psychological abuse disabled face  
 539       is now second nature to me. I don’t have to think about it. That wasn’t always the  
 540       case though. I had to learn to control my emotions and anticipate how other people  
 541       might react to what I would say as it was a fine line between making them angry  
 542       and getting my point across...Early on some people got me so angry that I blew up  
 543       at them, which you learn doesn’t help, and a few athletes started to ignore me. But  
 544       eventually it all clicks in place and becomes natural. I know when to smile to take  
 545       the heat out of someone now, make a joke to get my point across, or think, ok, this  
 546       isn’t going to work, change approach or leave it for later. (Martin)

#### 547       **Retirement and the development of a political activist identity**

548       Eight athletes retired from playing sport competitively during the study. In  
 549interviews with them before they retired, none adopted a political activist identity whilst  
 550in sport. However, analysis of data collected one year following retirement from playing  
 551revealed that 7 of the 8 athletes now constructed and performed this type of identity.  
 552Several connected reasons were suggested for constructing a new identity. Whereas the

553one participant who did not construct a political activist identity returned to sport in a  
554coaching capacity, the other seven left sport completely. They reflected that sport largely  
555buffered them from the everyday realities disabled people in society generally face. When  
556they retired from sport the participants were however no longer buffered. As a result, they  
557soon began to personally experience and witness profound disablism. This shattered their  
558previously held assumptions about the absence of oppression in society. With new first-  
559hand experience of how society often treats disabled people, coupled with witnessing  
560stories from other disabled people about the damage oppression causes, the participants  
561began constructing a political activist identity. As one female participant said:

562 Sport is like being in a bubble, and now I realize buffers you from what are very  
563 real daily problems most disabled people face. Yes, I had access difficulties as an  
564 athlete. But these were small in comparison to what I now face. I regularly  
565 experience people openly gawping at me, hear a lot of negative attitudes leveled at  
566 disabled people, which I thought were in the last century, am made to feel  
567 invisible or I'm really not wanted, have experienced a lot of insults and even some  
568 threats, and, well, that's the tip of the iceberg of the discrimination I face, and we  
569 face as disabled people...I thought everything by and large was fine for disabled  
570 people when I played sport. But no - how wrong I was! I couldn't have been  
571 further from the truth. The stories disabled people told me about the daily  
572 discrimination they face and how hard it is to survive shocked me, and I soon  
573 realized that my experiences since retiring were so similar. That set me on a path  
574 to where I am today, a person who still loves sport but also a person who wants to  
575 make a difference by confronting discrimination and wanting to change things so  
576 our lives as disabled people can be better. I must say too that this has had a very  
577 big, positive impact on my confidence, happiness, esteem, relationships. (Liz)



578        Whilst developing a new identity was not easy following retirement, the  
579 participants proposed that with the intimate knowledge of the damaging nature of  
580 disablism they now had, if they could go back in time, they would unequivocally have  
581 done several things differently whilst being an elite athlete. One of these included  
582 adopting an athletic identity, athletic activist identity, *and* a political identity. The  
583 participants also suggested that other athletes would benefit from adopting these multiple  
584 identities. This was especially so given the negative impact retirement initially had on  
585 their health and wellbeing due to not just direct social oppression, but also limited post-  
586 sport employment opportunities, psychological difficulties dealing with the loss of sport,  
587 and a reduced quality of life. As one male said:

588        Retiring from competitive sport hit me psychologically. It left me struggling. I  
589        wasn't happy. I was miserable a lot. I lost a lot of confidence too. And to add to all  
590        this, I woke up in a world that I didn't really recognize...When I retired and was  
591        out of the sporting bubble I started to see the world very differently. My  
592        impairment was a route into professional sport, but now society treats me like a  
593        second-class citizen. It's left me first angry, but soon more defiant, especially  
594        when I was told, by strangers, that I'm a drain on society and would be better off  
595        dead. I wasn't going to let people off the hook and I felt I needed to do something.  
596        Battling for disability rights is now a daily part of my life, it's part of who I am  
597        now...And if I could offer one bit of advice to athletes in sport now it would be:  
598        'Don't believe all is rosy for disabled people. It isn't. When you retire, you'll find  
599        this out pretty quickly and retirement will be even more difficult because of the  
600        discrimination we face. Retirement will be much more difficult to adjust to. Start  
601        being politically active as an athlete, or at least aware. Use your status as an athlete  
602        to bring attention to disability rights if you can...It isn't time consuming. For

603 instance, sending a tweet highlighting problems only takes 30 seconds.’ (Ian)

604 **Closing thoughts**

605 Drawing on a large qualitative data set rigorously developed, this research is the  
606 first within sport and exercise psychology to explicitly examine activist identities among  
607 elite athletes with impairment. The article also contributes to research, including disability  
608 studies and the sociology of sport, by identifying two different types of activist identities  
609 disabled, elite athletes construct. Research, be it qualitative and/or quantitative, should  
610 therefore consider in the future activist identities in the plural. Interpretations were offered  
611 concerning why identities were constructed or not, when and how an activist identity was  
612 performed, and the costs and benefits to wellbeing associated with different identities. In  
613 addition, the article develops novel insights into various contemporary concerns within  
614 sport and exercise psychology as well disability studies and the sociology of sport. For  
615 example, in terms of career transition research not only was the negative impact of  
616 retirement on wellbeing for disabled people revealed (Wheeler et al., 1996). It was  
617 suggested that social oppression could increase damage to wellbeing following retirement  
618 from competitive sport. The possibilities retiring may have for developing different  
619 identities that can positively impact on wellbeing were noted too. The article moreover  
620 adds to the organizational stress literature in sport (Arnold, Fletcher & Daniels 2016).  
621 Research in this area has overlooked elite, disabled athletes. This article however suggests  
622 that disabled athletes, as a result of perceived inequalities within sporting organizations,  
623 encounter some similar stressors (e.g., leadership and team issues) to able-bodied athletes  
624 as well as distinct stressors (e.g., the lack of disability-specific coaching and inaccessible  
625 environments). Further, the article extends into research on feeling and emotion. The  
626 importance of embodied feelings for motivating the development of identity for disabled  
627 athletes was highlighted. The use of emotional regulation and various strategies in

628constraining and enabling the development of activist identities was noted. It was  
629suggested that emotions and feelings should not be subordinated to cognition or the mind.  
630Emotion and feeling are instead often somewhat ineffable and emergent from and  
631immanent within the flows of language and embodied social relationships.

632       With regard to what the participant's discourses of identity might do – the social  
633functions –, several suggestions are proposed. Whilst athletic activist discourses offer  
634some resistance to inequalities inside sport, what the combination of using an athlete-only  
635identity discourse and eschewing a political activist identity may do is reproduce both a  
636medical model understanding of disability and a 'supercrip' narrative. A medical model  
637defines disability as any lack of ability resulting from impairment to perform an activity  
638within the range considered normal for a person (Goodley, 2016). One problem with the  
639medical model is that disability is depicted as abnormal, inevitably a personal physical  
640tragedy, and every time a psychological trauma that should be overcome. Thus, being  
641disabled is portrayed as always a 'bad' thing that must be eradicated. Another danger with  
642the model is that any solutions to 'disability' are directed at the individual, thereby  
643leaving social oppression unchallenged and placing the weight of responsibility onto the  
644person to seek a 'solution' to *their* problem (Goodley, 2016; Smith & Bundon, in-press).  
645A supercrip refers to an athlete who, with courage, hard work and dedication, proves that  
646one can accomplish the impossible and heroically triumph over the 'tragedy' of disability  
647through sport (Smith et al., 2016). Whilst numerous disabled athletes themselves might  
648not see themselves as a 'supercrip', for some disabled people inside sport (Peers, 2012) as  
649well as outside of sport (Braye, Dixon & Gibbons, 2013), the supercrip narrative provides  
650an artificial stereotype of disability by misrepresenting the wider population of disabled  
651people. Perhaps unintentionally too, the narrative shifts attention away from the social  
652oppression that damages the lives of many to considering disabled people as 'tragic

victims' who can be 'saved' by sport and the largely able-bodied people associated with para-sport Games.

In contrast to an athlete-only identity discourse and athletic activist identity, what the discourses of a political activist identity and a disability first identity (i.e. 'I'm a disabled athlete') can do is act as a counter-narrative. According to Nelson (2001), counter-narratives are purposive acts of moral definition that set out to resist "and repair the damage inflicted on identities by abusive power systems" (p. xiii). Acting as counter-narratives, what the identity discourses of political activism and 'I am a disabled athlete' do is resist disablism and circulate affirmative identities. In so doing, these discourses hold great potential for evoking social change and generating positive ways of being as a disabled person. What the political activist and disability first identities also may do is promote a social relational model and a human rights model, thereby bolstering possibilities for change and the promotion of affirmative identities. Building on the social model, the social relational model proposes that disabled people can experience various forms of indirect or direct social oppression that restrict activities and damage wellbeing (Thomas, 2014). Encountering the social relational model can positively change how people view disability and equip them with a vocabulary to further resist disablism (Smith & Perrier, 2014). For instance, people can move from thinking that the 'solution' to the 'problem' of disability lay squarely with 'them' (the individual) to believing that society produces disability. Such a move can be empowering and affirmative for people. It also means that attempts to improve wellbeing, environmental structures, societal attitudes, and media representations of disabled people must involve challenging disablism within society. In contrast to the social relational model, the human rights model is embedded in a legal convention - the United Nations' Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities (United Nations, 2006). It promotes change at a national and international

678level through eight principles (e.g. disabled people have the rights to equality of  
679accessibility) that, if implemented, helps enable disabled people to claim their rightful  
680place in society (Smith & Bundon, in-press).

681       With regard to practical opportunities, one possibility lies in amplifying stories of  
682activism. By amplifying stories we mean seeking to expand peoples' narrative resources  
683through sharing– not prescribing but offering - different stories about activist identities  
684and showing what each story might do. One possible way to share stories, and which  
685currently is being discussed with disability sport organisations, is through workshops with  
686athletes, performance lifestyle advisors, and coaches. The rationale for amplifying stories  
687is based not just in organizational mandates to promote social missions and take care of  
688athletes' wellbeing. It is grounded in narrative theory and research (e.g., Frank, 2006,  
6892010; Nelson, 2001; Pollner & Stein, 1996; Smith, Tomasone, Latimer-Cheung & Martin  
690Ginis, 2015) along with the findings of this study. The former has suggested that in  
691addition to stories being a highly effective way to communicate knowledge, and because  
692narratives are emotionally engaging and compelling, narratives as subjectifiers can be  
693useful for what Freire (2005) termed *conscientization*. Also shown to be beneficial in  
694community based participatory action research (Schinke & Blodgett, 2016),  
695conscientization refers to the process of breaking through prevailing assumptions and  
696mythologies through sharing stories (and other means) to reach new levels of awareness.  
697Stories further help constitute our identities and, as subjectifiers, can arouse imagination  
698and act as narrative maps for possibly learning new identities. Thus, by bringing in more  
699stories people's narrative resources can be expanded to potentially enable the construction  
700of different identities, if people choose. In other words, by circulating different stories  
701people's menu of narratives to artfully choose from and live by can be increased.

702       In terms of this study, the majority of athletes were largely unaware of the level of

703oppression disabled people faced in society. They also held certain assumptions about the  
704barriers or risks to adopting a political activist identity. In light of all this, and using  
705stories from athletes who adopt the latter identity, narratives could be amplified in  
706contexts like workshops that show the severity of oppression in society. The stories could  
707also show that people may in fact be successfully involved in sport per se, strongly  
708identify with the athlete role, and perform an activist political identity. Such amplification  
709could counter assumptions, help conscientization, and expand athlete's awareness of  
710different identities within disability sport so that they can develop other identities, if they  
711choose. Given also the findings on retirement, to help with the long term care of disabled  
712sports people it might be useful to share stories with athletes currently in sport about, for  
713example, the damage disablism may have on lives when an athlete retires and how they  
714might then live in personally meaningful ways. Another possible benefit of amplifying  
715stories is that it could create spaces for athletes who are already active activists, or who  
716may be intending to engage in activism, to discuss activist issues in safe environments  
717where there is minimal risk of harming emotions and losing support. It may also provide  
718opportunities to discuss concerns about engaging in activism, such as it takes much time  
719to perform activist acts, and develop solutions to these (e.g. the use of social media like  
720twitter).

721       Of course, we do not presume that athletes with a political activist identity will  
722want to always share their stories. Equally we do not claim that all athletes with  
723disabilities *must* take on activist identities or that people will *always* take on board new  
724identities when stories are amplified. Whilst many stories and identities call out to be  
725taken on board over the life course, space can be found for relatively few (Frank, 2006).  
726Institutional norms can also govern what stories can be told and how and when these  
727should be communicated. All this recognized, research has shown that narratives

728 contribute more positively to promoting different identities, producing greater affective  
 729 and motivational reactions, and changing health behaviors than cognitive orientated  
 730 informational messages (e.g., Falzon, Radel, Cantor & d'Arripe-Longueville, 2015;  
 731 Nelson, 2001). Given this, amplifying stories of activism could expand people's menu of  
 732 narrative resources to choose from, thereby potentially opening up possible selves and  
 733 enabling a highly multifaceted identity. In many ways then, this work and suggested  
 734 practical applications that follow embraces the call for what Gergen (2015) termed *future*  
 735 *forming research*. Here the aim is not to simply "illuminate existing problems in society,  
 736 but to devise practices that can achieve better or more viable outcomes" (p. 14). Reversing  
 737 the traditional claim that science is just about what *is*, Gergen proposes that research as  
 738 future forming attempts to promote 'what *might* or *ought* to be'. Given the assumptions  
 739 many people in this study held, the harm to wellbeing following retirement, and  
 740 suggestions from retired athletes themselves that activist political identities could be  
 741 promoted more, then showing through stories what might be if certain identities are  
 742 constructed or rejected seems worthwhile to pursue and investigate further.

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